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THE HITTITE LANGUAGE (Sturtevant)

REVIEWS

SCHOEN-PONTARRA, Terriolis Etrusca Illyrica (Robson); PASCHALL, Vocabulary of Mental Aberration (Armstrong); Murray, Aeschylus, Persians (Hadas); Sanfilippo, Pauli Decretorum libri tres (Sanders); van Ingen, Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris (Baur); Nash-Williams, Horace on Himself (Sister Mary Borromeo)

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THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

The people whom we now call Hittites governed a powerful empire during a large part of the second millennium B.C. Their capital was Hattusas, on the site of the present Turkish village of Bogazköy, ninety miles east of Ankara (ancient Ancyra). Their cities were burnt and their power was destroyed by the Phrygians about 1200 B.C., and they were soon absorbed in the surrounding populations and entirely forgotten. Their name, to be sure, survived, since it was used by the people of the southern provinces of the empire, which retained their independence for some centuries longer. It is these Hittites of Northern Syria, in the early part of the first millennium B.C., who are mentioned in the annals of Assyrian kings and also in the Old Testament.

Modern scholars learned of the real Hittites of Asia Minor first from Egyptian texts recording wars and treaties between the kings of Egypt and the kings of the Hittites in the fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries B.C. But nobody had any idea that the Hittite Empire had, during a part of that period, been Egypt's chief rival, until the excavation of the Hittite capital, beginning in 1906.1

1For the gradual recovery of Hittite history and a sketch of that history itself, see Albrecht Götze, Hethiter, Churriter, und Assyrer, Hauptlinien der vorderasiatischen Kulturentwicklung im zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christi Geburt (Oslo, 1936), Kap. 3, Reich und Kultur der Hethiter.

Here were found some ten thousand clay tablets and fragments of tablets, constituting the remains of the royal archives. All the tablets were inscribed with cuneiform characters and some of them in the Akkadian language, so that they could be read at once. There was thus no doubt that the capital of the great Hittite Empire had been discovered, and it was thus evident that the language in which the great majority of the tablets was written must be the Hittite language.

The interpretation of this did not really get under way until about 1914, but the task is now nearly completed. Although there are still a good many words whose meaning is uncertain or totally unknown, and although we may expect our knowledge to become more precise at numerous points, we can read the language with ease, except where there are lacunae or where our ignorance of the subject matter, as in the omen texts, aggravates the linguistic difficulties.

All scholars are agreed that the Hittite language is closely related to the Indo-European languages. Many have maintained that it is a member of that group and, in fact, a member of a western sub-group (Greek, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic, as against Indic, Iranian, Armenian, Baltic and Slavic). My own opinion has long been that Hittite is a cousin rather than a sister of the historic Indo-European languages.²

This conclusion is based upon three lines of argument. (1). If Hittite were descended directly from

²See most recently Language 15.11-19.

Primitive Indo-European then, since its records are more ancient than those even of Greek and Sanskrit, it ought to be even more similar than they are to the reconstructed parent speech. As a matter of fact Hittite is in many respects strikingly like the modern European languages. Its verb conjugation is very simple and is supplemented by compound forms just like those of the English perfect and passive. Besides the -sko-present suffix has developed the meaning seen in the English progressive (is going, etc.), and a derivative verb may be formed thus from any verb whose meaning permits. Finally a causative with suffix -nu- (cf. Skt. -nu-, Gk. -nv-) is freely made from any verb.

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(2). Hittite retains in full vigor certain features that in Primitive Indo-European, as reconstructed on the basis of the previously known languages, were already moribund. There are nearly everywhere scattered traces of neuter nouns with nom.-acc. ending in r and oblique cases from an n-stem. A clear instance is Latin femur, feminis, and almost as clear is Greek ἔδωρ, ἔδατος, since Greek neuter n-stems regularly show 7 in the genitive (ονόματος beside Lat. nominis). In Hittite these stems are much more numerous than any scholar had assumed even for Primitive Indo-European. More significant still, there are several suffixes of this type (especially -tar, -nnas; -sar, -snas) with which new derivatives are freely formed; we can now see some traces of these suffixes in the previously known languages, but no scholar had suspected their existence until the discovery of Hittite. If this fact stood alone it could be argued that the eight well-known branches of Indo-European had independently lost the power to create new derivatives with these suffixes; but there are so many other archaisms preserved in Hittite alone that it would involve too much mere coincidence to ascribe these parallel losses to the eight branches of Indo-European. Most if not all of them must have occurred once for all in Pre-Indo-European, and Hittite must have inherited them directly from an earlier parent speech.

(3). The previously known Indo-European languages possess in common certain innovations that Hittite does not share. The clearest item of this kind yet adduced is the pronominal stem seen in the Greek article. In Hittite there is a sentence connective ta and an enclitic anaphoric pronoun -as, acc. -an, and these two are often combined as tas 'tum is', acc. tan 'tum eum'. Hittite has also a sentence connective su, which undoubtedly represents an original *so, which in Pre-Indo-European was re-interpreted as a nominative (Gk. 6, Skt. sa). Out of the old sentence connective *so and the conglomerate *tom, *tod, etc., developed the Indo-European pronoun *so, *sa, *tod. It would be quite impossible to reverse the process and to suppose that the Hittite system of two sentence connectives and two conglomerates of sentence connective plus enclitic pronoun developed out of the curiously irregular pronoun of Indo-European.

Another innovation common to the previously known Indo-European languages is the feminine gender. We can see the last stages of its development in historical times, but most of this occurred in Pre-Indo-European. Hittite shows no traces of it. That language has nouns that must be identified with the Indo-European āstems; but they have no connection with the female sex. The only genders in the language are animate and inanimate.

I have therefore concluded that Hittite and Primitive Indo-European are parallel offshoots of an earlier parent speech, which I have called Primitive Indo-Hittite.⁴

We know of several languages that can, with more or less confidence, be connected with Hittite rather than with the Indo-European languages strictly so called. One of these is Luwian, which is known from a number of passages in Hittite ritual texts. One such passage is accompanied by a Hittite translation, and we discover that Luwian is only dialectically different from Hittite. There is reason to believe that it was spoken as early as the first part of the second millennium B.C. in parts of Western and Southern Asia Minor.⁵ Another language closely related to Hittite and Luwian is the language of the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs, a partially pictographic script used in many inscriptions of Northern Syria around 1000 B.C. and also to some extent in the second millennium B.C. in and near Hattusas as well as elsewhere in Asia Minor. These inscriptions have recently been interpreted in part but the task has not yet been completed.6 Finally, it is fairly clear that the languages of the Lycian and Lydian inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. belong to the same

We may therefore set up a genealogical tree as in Table 1, using the term Primitive Anatolian for the prehistoric language hereafter to be reconstructed by the comparison of Hittite with other languages of Asia Minor.

Table I is not intended to imply that Primitive Anatolian and Primitive Indo-European were spoken at the same date. Neither is it implied that Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic all parted compared compared one another at the same time; it

³Lang - 9-47.

⁴A number of scholars reject the theory that I have here stated with all the confidence that I actually have in it. For the other side of the argument, see most recently Holger Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen (Copenhagen, 1938).

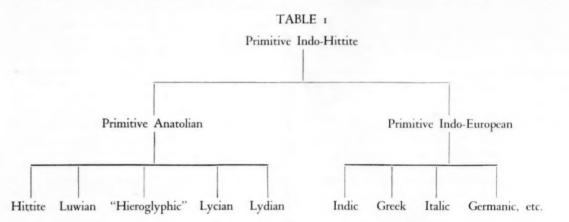
⁵Götze, Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, 3.1: Kleinasien (München, 1933) 53f.

See Hrozný, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques (Prague, 1933,
 -34, -37—incomplete).

⁷See Meriggi, Festschrift für Hermann Hirt 2.257-90. It has recently been suggested by Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen 191ft., that Phrygian also goes closely with Hittite but for the present it seems safer to omit it.

is most improbable that this was the case, but until we can show in what chronological order they actually did break away from the parent stock it is better to consider them all as of equal antiquity.8

Still less is any opinion expressed about the interrelations of the Anatolian languages. There is a good chance that Lycian and Lydian may be descended from Luwian. And it may yet turn out that there is no more by cuneiform signs for the Akkadian consonant b; the only difference in writing is that one of them is always written single and the other is usually written double in positions where the cuneiform writing makes that possible. There is reason to believe that Hittite b(b) was similar to the German *ach*-sound, though perhaps articulated further back in the throat, while b was the corresponding voiced sound (cf. g in North German



than dialectical difference between Luwian and "Hieroglyphic Hittite." Any definite decision seems premature.

From the 1890's until the interpretation of the Hittite texts Indo-European comparative grammar remained virtually stationary. Here and there details were added and minor improvements were made; but it was clear that no important advance was possible without additional material. Hittite has supplied a considerable amount of this, and has made it possible to bring some other languages into connection with Indo-European. Even more important is the establishment of an earlier basis for comparison, namely Primitive Indo-Hittite. This enables us to penetrate further into the mists of prehistory, and at the same time adds perspective to the picture we already knew.

One detail of our added knowledge deserves mention, namely the existence of several consonants in Primitive Indo-Hittite that have not figured in our handbooks of Indo-European comparative grammar, and that, in my opinion, had already been lost in Primitive Indo-European.

Hittite has two consonants that regularly correspond either to zero or to vowel length in the Indo-European languages. Both of these sounds are written in Hittite

8Several scholars, notably Antoine Meillet, Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris 32.1-28, have tried to establish such a chronology, but the only fact of the sort that can be rigorously proved is that Hittite and whatever languages must be grouped with it separated from the general Indo-European stock at a relatively early date.

Wagen). Examples of b(b) are Hitt. barkis 'white, bright': Gk. $a\rho\gamma\delta$'s 'shining', Skt. arjunas 'white'; Hitt. pahhuwar 'fire': Gk. $\pi\hat{v}\rho$, OE $f\bar{y}r$. Hittite b appears in mehur 'time': Goth. $m\bar{e}l$ 'time' and in wehun 'I turned': Lat. $vi\bar{e}re$ 'weave', Lith. $vej\hat{u}$ 'I turn'. Of particular interest is the discovery that the Indo-European \bar{a} -conjugation is represented in Hitt. by a suffix -ahh-(newahh- 'renew': Lat. $nov\bar{a}re$, Gk. $ve\hat{a}v$ 'plow up fallow land').

These Hittite sounds came from Indo-Hittite phonemes that we may write respectively x and γ . There is good reason to ascribe to Indo-Hittite two other consonants that were lost in Pre-Indo-European; but the evidence for them is more complicated and we need not discuss them here.

Ferdinand de Saussure⁹ suggested in 1879 that many Indo-European long vowels had resulted from lengthening of a short vowel upon loss of a consonant that was still preserved. To illustrate (using our terminology in place of de Saussure's), Lat. novāre comes from IE newāsi and this ultimately comes from IH newaxsi.

A little later Hermann Möller¹⁰ identified the lost Indo-European consonants (he assumed two of them at first, and later on as many as five) with the laryngeal

9Memoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européenes=Recueil des publications scientifiques

10Paul und Braunes Beiträge 7.492 Anm. 2 (1880). The final form of Möller's doctrine may be found in his Die semitisch-vorindogermanischen laryngalen Konsonanten (Copenhagen, 1917).

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b; the consonants of Semitic. This assumption was an essential always feature of Möller's attempt to derive the Semitic and able in Indo-European languages from a common ancestral at poslanguage. Most scholars, however, have until quite re-) was cently rejected de Saussure's tracing of certain Indoerhaps European long vowels to lost consonants. The first as the scholar to see that at least one such consonant actually erman survives in our Hittite texts was a Polish pupil of Antoine Meillet, Professor Jerzy Kurylowicz of the University of Lwów.11 There are several rival forms of this "laryngeal theory," but so many Indo-Europeanists have accepted one or another of them that it must

Indo-European comparative grammar.

My own variety of the theory is that Indo-Hittite possessed four laryngeal consonants, two of which survived in Hittite, but all of which were lost in Primitive Indo-European. If this opinion is accepted then the reconstruction of Primitive Indo-European as worked out by the comparative grammarians of the close of the nineteenth century can stand with comparatively few changes, and our new advances will result in a comparative grammar of the Indo-Hittite languages. On the other hand those linguists who reject the Indo-Hittite

theory and who assume laryngeal consonants in Primi-

tive Indo-European must throw away the handbooks by

Brugmann, Hirt, Meillet and others, and start again at

certainly be taken into account in all future work on

the beginning to construct a system of comparative grammar.

It is too soon to say whether or not Hermann Möller was right in tracing the Semitic and Indo-European languages to a common origin. It is surprising how many of the new Hittite data fit into his categoriesalthough some changes must be made in his system. From time to time various features of Indo-Hittite, assumed without reference to the Semitic languages, turn out to have a strikingly Semitic appearance. Thus my late colleague Edward Sapir observed, although he never published the observation, that the Indo-Hittite inanimate gender (whence the Indo-European neuter) could very well be identified with the Semitic feminine. Both are used typically in verbal nouns and abstracts, and both are characterized by a dental suffix (e.g. Lat. alind, Skt. tad; Hebrew-construct state-hokmat 'wisdom': hāhām 'wise'). Hence the seemingly disparate Indo-European and Semitic gender systems can readily be harmonized.

But whether or not the new Hittite evidence enables us to establish the connection of Semitic with Indo-European, it is clear than linguistic science now has a host of new problems to solve and abundant new material to work with.

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT

YALE UNIVERSITY

REVIEWS

Terriolis Etrusca Illyrica. Der vorchristliche geographische Wortschatz Tarrols. By Alois Maria Schoen-Pontarra. 2 parts, 183 and 160 pages. Published by the author, Innsbruck 1937 and 1938 2 M. each.

This is an amazing book; the maze begins with the title and continues from cover to cover. The term Tarrol, said to go back to the bronze age and to mean mountain-land, is used to comprise pre-war Tyrol, Switzerland, Leichtenstein, the Italian Alps, Carinthia, parts of Styria, Salzburg, South Bavaria. The early history of this region is divided into four periods: (1) the stone age-that of the Uralpines and Ibero-Ligurians; (2) the bronze age-that of the north Italici and Etruscans; (3) the iron age—that of the south Slavs and Illyrians; (4) the la Tène age-that of the Germanic immigrations. Under each of these heads is given a list of words which are said to belong to the period. Part I takes up these words, one by one, and lists under each the names (usually place names) which the author proceeds to trace back to the word in question. Part II gives additional place names under the same headings

The following information is offered concerning the

Etruscans, Slavs and Illyrians. "The Etruscans are blond and therefore Germanic" (I.7). They came to Etruria about 1200 B.C. (I.118) from the north, as is proved by their name, ex tarru sker 'from the mountains' (I.127). They are apparently distinct from the Tyrenni and Tyrsenni (I.138). The Slavs entered Greece shortly after the Dorian migration, about 1100 B.C. (I.160), and became intermingled with Thracians and Illyrians. About 1000 B.C. these Slavo-Thraco-Illyrians entered north and central Italy, and went as far west as the Rhône and Saône. "Therefore the investigator of the Etruscan language must study the Balkan dialects!" (II.157-8)

As typical of the author's derivations the following may be cited:

Italy (Italien) from dal jen=dal inn ('river,' i.e. the Po, which, however, before the coming of the Illyrians, was called, with its tributaries, sill [Ibero-Ligurian] for 'river' II. 58-59); then i=in was prefixed (I.7).

Mediolanum (Milano, Ger. Mailand) on the Olona—al inn; the second name was the Roman Mediolanum—mitt al inn

Clusium from slus=su laas (Greco-old Slav='forest') (I.58).
Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicum) = Augustgowe = Augisgawe = Owesgowe (ovis!) = 'sheep-pasture' (I.175).

Owesgowe (ovis!) = 'sheep-pasture' (I.175).

Hesperia from Ibero, Iberus=i ver (Ligurian for 'valley').

This was the name of the valley, then the province, then the peninsula. Later through misunderstanding, as was prefixed, and later still b, thus giving Hesperia (II.8).

(Dante) Alighieri=alle gberi (from car: Old Slav goro; Gk. oros) 'at the mountains' (I.154).

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¹¹Symbolae Grammaticae in Honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski 1.95-104 (1927).

The author repeatedly assures the reader that the breezes of pre-history blow through his pages; that, after the useless efforts of many investigators, he has succeeded in interpreting the place-names of Tarrol, and has revolutionized study in this field. What at the end of Part I was a schoolbook, has become in Part II a "philological, etymological, historical, historio-geographical work." The book closes with an impassioned appeal to people from Spain to Hungary to collect names as he has done, and so save them from being lost.

Nevertheless, a work which deals so cavalierly with the evidence of archaeology and linguistics must be considered a flight of the imagination rather than a serious contribution to scholarship. The author's final word to those who follow him is: "Seht Ihr aber einen Onomatologen . . . erschlagt ihn auf der Stelle." The present reviewer will run the risk.

D. O. ROBSON

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

The Vocabulary of Mental Aberration in Roman Comedy and Petronius. By DOROTHY MAY PASCHALL. 88 pages. Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore 1939 (Supplement to LANGUAGE, Vol. 15 No. 1, Language Dissertation No. 27) \$1.35

In a work of painstaking, if not brilliant, scholarship the late Dr. Paschall has undertaken a study of the Latin vocabulary describing madness, "to determine the semantic sources of the Latin words for mental aberration-and mental deficiency-and to investigate in detail the varying uses and shades of meaning of the more interesting of these words" (7). To keep the work within a reasonable scope, Miss Paschall limits it to colloquial Latin, which provides more of the material desired than formal writings. Therefore she turns to comedy and Petronius as "the best sources of colloquial (8). Her choice of the colloquial tongue for study is excellent, but one wonders why she did not include inscriptions of all periods, particularly the Pompeian wall inscriptions, which, although limited, are far better sources of the sermo vulgaris than Plautus, Terence and Petronius, who are, after all, primarily literary artists.

Latin words denoting mental disorders or deficiency, like those in other IE languages, appear to be entirely figurative, and are treated under three main types: expressions based on analogy (to persons, plants, animals); expressions involving the supernatural; and expressions denoting physical weakness. The material is somewhat unevenly presented, and a fuller index than the one provided, or a list of words under each category with cross references, would be very useful. The study shows that while there are a few borrowed words, mostly from Greek, the common terms, like *insanus* and *stultus*, are Latin.

There is nothing startlingly new here, although many of the proposed etymologies and interpretations of particular passages, especially those in which the standard authorities are rejected, are necessarily open to question. For example she rejects (18 n. 67) Walde-Pokorny's base $m\tilde{o}(u)ro$: $m\tilde{u}ro$ -, 'stumpfsinnig, töricht' as the common source of μωρός (Latin loanword morus) and Skt. mūrá- 'stupid' because, as she says, there is no reason to separate mūrá- from Skt. mūr-cchati, mūr-tá, mūr-khá, for which a base *merə 'gerinnen' is assumed by Walde-Pokorny. She derives them all from the reduced grade *mr of a dissyllabic base *mera-*morə, with Dehnstufe *mēr(ə)-*mor(ə); the last form plus thematic vowel would give μωρός. The assumption of a lengthened grade of a reduced grade is decidedly questionable, and from *mr- one would expect in Greek either *βλωρος or *μορος; further, there seems to be no precedent in Skt. for long sonant r producing a long vowel plus r before a vowel, as mūráfrom *mr.

Again, Miss Paschall disagrees (60) with the general belief, supported by the authority of Varro, that lymphatus was coined as a translation of νυμφόληπτος, and that possibly, as Wackernagel and Walde suggest, lympha was borrowed from νύμφη at a very early date. Lymphatus is a Latin word whose development owed little or nothing to the influence of νυμφόληπτος, she says; and the Oscan Diumpais shows that lympha, earlier lumpa, cannot be derived from νύμφη. One must note, however, that the early form lumpa shows that either it is a Greek borrowing, because of p>ph, or else the Romans themselves believed it to be of Greek origin; for it is unlikely that there was a native Latin development of aspirates independent of Greek influence. (Cf. Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, 119-120.)

In discussing baro (13ff.), the etymology of which is problematical, she cites a passage from Lucilius, baronum ac rupicum squarrosa incondita rostra, and notes that the MSS read varonum; varo is also found in Persius 5.138, but is usually rejected. There is no evidence of a confusion in pronunciation between b and v in Lucilius' time, she says, and "if we are not dealing with two separate words, varonum must be merely a scribal error." Miss Paschall has overlooked an important possibility: the existence of the varo form suggests that it may be cognate with $\beta a \rho v s$, Skt. gurus (all from IE *gw-); varo because of its meaning may then have been confused by the Romans with $\beta a \rho v s$ and the related Latin words bardus, barcus, barbarus, thus becoming baro.

Cerritus (62ff.) is usually derived from Ceres, or from Cerrus, her masculine counterpart invoked in the Carmen Saliare. Of the two explanations Dr. Paschall prefers, with reservations, the former, because she is disturbed by the connection in the Iguvine Tables of beg ling

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in the Paschall she is bles of Cerrus with Mars (Serfe Martie 'Cerro Martio'), which suggests to her that he was a war-god rather than an underground spirit and as such could hardly cause madness. She has overlooked the fact that Mars himself was originally an agricultural god (cf. Hymn of the Arval Brotherhood, and Garrod, Oxford Book of Latin Verse, 510-512); the connection of Cerrus and Mars as agricultural gods is natural, and the difficulty vanishes.

There are a few minor mistakes (e.g., 34, implicisci in the letters of Fronto does not mean 'to suffer from the cold': the text is ex frigore impliciscar; the translation of Propertius 3.3.49, per te clausas sciat excantare puellas, as 'shall know how by the spell of your verses to induce a girl to steal out of the house for a rendezvous with him,' 50 is free, to say the least); it is inconsistent to indicate nowhere the edition of Petronius used when this is done for Plautus and Terence; a number of abbreviations used in the footnotes are nowhere explained. Misprints were noted on pages 16 (twice), 32, 42, 60, 67.

In general, however, Miss Paschall's work is thoroughgoing and scholarly; particularly valuable are her discussions of stolidus and stultus (18ff.), ineptus (27ff.), rabies (39ff.), furor (42ff.), insanus and vesanus (70ff.), excors, socors and vecors (79ff.). Her untimely death is greatly to be regretted, for the continuation and extension of the work which she so well began could only result in benefit to the study of Latin linguistics.

CHARLES JOHNSTONE ARMSTRONG

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Aeschylus, The Persians. Translated into English rhyming verse with Preface and Notes by GILBERT MURRAY. 92 pages, Oxford University Press, New York 1939 \$1.

His eye is not dim nor his natural force abated. Gilbert Murray still sees Greek tragedy as it is given few others to do, and presents it with force that few others have attained. His verse has rhythmical freshness, its imagery is clean cut, and it is free from the weight of dead language. If there is a certain artificiality in the occasional formalism of the language and constraint in the rhyming of extended stichomythia, one must remember that Aeschylus is a formal poet. Of the verse translations of the Persae available for comparison this version, because it is least ornamented, is best, as poetry and as translation.

A verse translation aims at producing the total effect as well as the bare intellectual content which is the prose translator's goal. No one can know what the effect of the play was on Aeschylus' audience, but surely Gilbert Murray deserves a respectful hearing for his opinion of the effect, even if some expressions seem more romantic than we have been taught is proper for Greek tragedy. "Wild white horses of the morn" (386) may seem exuberant, but it is fairly literal for $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \delta \pi \omega \lambda o s$ $\hat{\eta} \mu \hat{\epsilon} \rho a$, and indeed the entire passage is so exuberant in the Greek that English pitched too low would be treason. In the same speech compare, on the other hand, the fine economy of

Now, sons of Hellas, now! Set Hellas free, set free your wives, your homes, Your gods' high altars and your fathers' tombs. Now all is on the stake!

with the much quoted version from Balaustion's Adventure:

O sons of Greeks, go, set your country free, Free your wives, free your children, free the fanes O' the gods your fathers founded—sepulchres They sleep in! or save all, or all be lost!

Any translation by Gilbert Murray is also a commentary. One example: the translation of 13, "Like hounds at a young master's horn Baying" is a quite novel interpretation. It is explained in Murray's Oxford text (1937): βαύζει sc. circumlatrat, ut canes venatorem.

For the collector of comic misprints I suggest 349: "While her men live she hath a breechless wall."

Moses Hadas

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Pauli Decretorum libri tres. By Cesare San-FILIPPO. iv, 135 pages. Giuffrè, Milan 1938 (R. Università di Catania; Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza, 2) 20 L.

Julius Paulus was a jurisconsult of about 200 A.D. whose numerous and important works, now lost, are made known to us by fragments in the later codes. Professor Sanfilippo has collected, discussed, emended, and interpreted the fragments of the Decreta, one of the smaller of the works of Paulus. The work is scholarly and gives ample consideration to the earlier literature of the general subject. Most passages are emended, some of them extensively. In considerable part the emendations involve distinction between the work of Paulus and the compiler who inserted the fragments in the Digest, and are in the main well founded; yet the number of changes will shock American classicists.

There is a brief introduction which discusses the relationship of the three books of Decreta to another work by Paulus, the Imperialium Sententiarum libri sex. These works have been sometimes identified or confused, but Sanfilippo maintains that there were two separate works, though of the same general content.

The 34 existing fragments are then taken up and discussed in the order of the books, I to III. An important feature for one interested in Roman Law is the continuous comparison of the decrees with the normal development of the law. Here we find the views taken by Paulus often contrasted with those of other jurisconsults as Papinian. In cases where the imperial de-

crees differed from the normal trend of Roman law, explanations are suggested. As Italian law is based on Roman law, this part of the work has a special appeal for the Italian scholar. American classicists will find little of interest in the book, though the Italian is easy and in good style in spite of the technical character of the work. The book is disfigured by many misprints, eleven of which are given in a list of Errata inserted at the end. The following were noted in my reading of the book:

33, line 23, read debeat for debat

39, l, 15, read furti for furgi

44, 1. 5, read dicebamus for dicemabus

47, 1. 4 from bottom read pretium for pretimu

70, 1. 13, read libertatibus for libertates

87 l. 2 from bottom read Antoninum for Antoninus2

99, l. 15, read tabulae for tubulae

103, l. 16, read manumissam for manummissam

107, l. 17, read vero for vera

108, 1. 27, read et for at

110, l. 27, read dello for delld

111, l. 27, read ufficiale for utficiale.

HENRY A. SANDERS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris discovered by the expeditions conducted by the University of Michigan with the cooperation of the Toledo Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1927-1932. By WILHELMINA VAN INGEN. xxi, 374 pages, 93 plates, 2 plans. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1939 (University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, Vol. XLV) \$5

This catalogue includes not only the terracotta figurines but also those in bone, alabaster, marble and plaster found at Seleucia. The collection is scattered; the largest number is in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Michigan, other examples are in the Cleveland Museum, still others in the Toledo Museum and about six hundred in the Iraq Museum at Baghdad. The five seasons of work at Seleucia yielded about three thousand figurines including over one hundred and fifty of bone and nearly a hundred of alabaster, marble and plaster. Most of them may be assigned to definite levels of occupation. By far the greatest number came from Trench 4 and Block B, the former probably a temple precinct, the latter a residential area. After the plates are two plans of Block B, levels I and II. There are, however, four levels both in Trench 4 and in Block B: the lowest, of which very little has been excavated so far, is Seleucid from about 290 to about 143 B.C. (Level IV), the other three are, according to Miss van Ingen (6). Parthian from about 143 B.C. to about 69-70 A.D. (Level III), from 69-70 to 115-120 A.D. (Level II), from 115-120 to 166-167 A.D. (Level Ib), from 166-167

to about 200 A.D. (Level Ia). The two periods, Level Ib and Ia, hold good only for Trench 4; in Block B there is no break, so that there Level I extends from 115-120 to about 200 A.D. Miss van Ingen, however, admits that this chronological sequence is in many ways 'disappointing' and that 'conclusions to be drawn from it are less illuminating than was to be hoped,' because certain types of terracotta figurines are found in all four levels. One would expect that Hellenistic types would predominate in Level IV and that what she calls 'Parthian types and style' would be most frequently found in the later levels. This is not the case, for both Greek and Oriental types persist throughout the four levels. Examples of the former type are Aphrodite unveiling, Heracles resting, children playing with birds and grapes and Erotes. Examples of the latter (Oriental) type are nude women with hands to the breasts, draped female musicians and the groups of a rider on horseback.

I object to the term 'Parthian' for the levels II to IV because it might lead the unwary reader to imagine that Parthian style is meant. Of course Miss van Ingen does not for a moment believe that the three upper levels are Parthian though she makes that statement twice in her Introduction (5, 7). Elsewhere, both in Introduction and Catalogue she speaks of the various influences at work in the Parthian periods, and she stresses the fact that many of the types are of Greek derivation, that other types are of Babylonian origin and that still other types are under the influence of Egyptian figurines. In regard to the Parthian style she very correctly states (50) that in the figurines from Seleucia 'we find very little that can be called Parthian exclusively,' but that they were made 'primarily for, and presumably by, the native and the Greek inhabitants of the city, and hence were more likely . . to show the influence of the Parthian conquerors only in minor details.

It is remarkable how few analogies exist between the figurines found at Dura and those from Seleucia. Although at Dura not more than one hundred and fifty examples of terracotta figurines were found there are many types which so far have not been discovered at Seleucia. I do not believe that the reason for this is altogether due to the fact that Dura was a Syrian city and Seleucia a Babylonian site. Of the Durene types not known at Seleucia I shall mention only three groups of horsemen. The first of these is the Persian type in which the rider, hugging the horse's neck, faces the direction of the horse. It is a very primitivelooking handmade group of horse and rider in which only the face of the latter is pressed from a mould. This type is found elsewhere as early as the fifth century and persists without change as late as the second if not the third century A.D. The second group of horse and rider is found in only two examples at

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Dura. Here the rider sits astride but faces the observer in typical Parthian fashion. Parthian again is the tripartite hairdress: a central and two lateral bunches of hair. The third group is a Roman relief of red clay in which a horseman is spearing a fallen foe. The group known from both sites is the horseman with slablike body looking in the direction of the horse, but at Dura the body of the rider is of a more primitive type than at Seleucia. It is this group that has been found in all four levels. Its persistence best explains the above-mentioned lack of chronological sequence in the four strata.

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Again in both places occurs the woman with hornshaped lateral knobs of hair, but at Dura a veil covers the hairdress. The type is not only under Babylonian influence but also under Alexandrian. It is not known in the Parthian style. Although the nude woman occurs in both sites the primitive-appearing type at Dura is handmade and the breasts are made separately and attached. At Dura there are at least eight different types, both male and female, in the snowman technique, all without ears; at Seleucia there are only one or two and those with ears (105f., Nos. 237-240). Miss van Ingen assigns them to the Seleucid-Parthian period. To my mind they are a late survival of the Greek geometric period and may occur as late as the second or even third century A.D. Of the two types of tambourine players found at Seleucia only one occurs at Dura, I mean the one holding a large tambourine against her chest. She is not 'striking it with her right hand' but holds it in both hands. To strike this instrument it would have to be held to one side as is seen in the other type (Pl. XXXIX No. 568). The figurines of camels from Dura differ in type from those found at Seleucia, although at both places occurs a camel with a bit in his mouth.

It is evident, therefore, that the analogous examples from both sites are not very close but are of a more general nature, as is best illustrated by the negroid heads from Dura and Seleucia.

The few errors1 do not detract from the excellence

IPI. XXXIV, 245, No. 476 should be 246, No. 478. On the same Plate 246, No. 478 should be 245, No. 476. Pl. LIV, 386, No. 842 should be No. 844, and 385, No. 844 should be No. 842. Pl. LV, 389, No. 850 should be 390, No. 853 (make same correction on page 30). On the same plate 390, No. 853 should be 389, No. 850. Pl. LXIV, 463, No. 1106 should be No. 1105. Pl. LXXIV, 543, No. 1409 should be 544, No. 1413, and 544, No. 1413 should be 543. No. 1409. It seems to me that the illustration is upside down. The vase held by the two hands should be upright, for as it is illustrated the hands could not hold the vase. Pl. LXXIV, 545, No. 1432j is described on page 313 as a trousered leg and foot. Judging from the illustration the leg has not trousers but puttees wrapped diagonally around it. Puttees are found at Dura on the figurine of a Parthian warrior-god or heros. Another error is in the Introduction (12): the ram's head, No. 1500 (Pl. LXXVII, 573) should be LXXVIII, 573. Pl. XXXV, 256, No. 499a 'Man riding ram': it is clear from the illustration that he is leading the ram, not riding it.

of the book. Particularly erudite is the Introduction of 49 pages in which Miss van Ingen first discusses the figurines of the Seleucid and Parthian periods in general, then the figurines from Seleucia under the headings, I Chronology, II. Technique, III. The types, their meaning and use, IV. Costume, V. Bone Figurines, VI. Style and relations with Parthian art. this connection it may be said that the relations with Parthian art at Dura are much closer than at Seleucia. Following the introduction is the Catalogue of 308 pages and 1716 items, arranged by types. At the beginning of each section of the catalogue all the figurines of that general type known to the author are included; then follows the description of the type and the number of specimens. The dimensions are not sufficient, for she mentions in centimeters only the height; breadth and thickness are never given. After the catalogue is a very praiseworthy and useful index of 8 pages. The illustrations on the 96 plates vary from six to nine; they are clear and large enough to serve their purpose.

The publication of this book is timely and will be extremely useful especially to those who are interested in the figurines of the Hellenistic, Parthian and late Oriental periods. Miss van Ingen is to be congratulated on the completion of a piece of work which shows infinite patience and labor.

PAUL V. C. BAUR

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Horace on Himself. By A. H. NASH-WILLIAMS. xii, 137 pages, 12 plates, 2 maps. Bell, London 1939 (Alpha Classics) 2 s.

Selections from Horace's Odes, Satires and Epistles are divided into three sections, the first of which contains ten excerpts depicting Horace's early life and education until he became a gentleman of leisure. The second part consists of fifteen excerpts on a variety of subjects: love of the simple life, ambition, false and true, lovers' quarrels and Horace's characteristic plea for the golden mean. Death is the burden of the next three selections, and the final one is the well-known Exegi monumentum, containing Horace's farewell to lyric poetry and the prophecy of his future greatness.

A section on Metre follows which this reviewer considers superfluous in a high-school book because of the necessary meagreness of treatment such a book entails. As the book is an English publication the grammatical references are worded differently from our American grammars and this may cause a bit of confusion.

An index of proper names and a vocabulary add to the usefulness of the text. The format of the book is pleasing and the illustrations attractive. The book will undoubtedly prove good for a fourth-year Latin class.

SISTER MARY BORROMEO

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EPIGRAPHY. NUMISMATICS. PAPYROLOGY

Bartoletti, Vittorio. Papiri inediti fiorentini. The author publishes 1) fragments of a 'grammatical' paraphrase of the Iliad (2.617-70) from a papyrus roll of the first century B.C., in which the lines of the Iliad alternate with those of the paraphrase, and 2) three fragments from a roll of the second century A.D. from Oxyrhynchus, containing a manual of astrology.

Aegyptus 19 (1939) 177-92 (Husselman)

BAYER, ERICH. Zu BGU 1894. The author corrects and clarifies some points in one of the tax rolls published by Kortenbeutel in BGU 9.

Aegyptus 19 (1939) 89-99 (Husselman)
CRAMER, MARIA. Texte zur koptischen "Totenklage."
In fourteen Coptic grave monuments the conventional brief inscription is augmented by a lament for the dead.
Aegyptus 19 (1939) 193-209 (Husselman)

DZIKOWSKI, NICHOLAS. The Olbian Inscription CIG 2080 Rediscovered. This inscription has been published three times from an erroneous facsimile, the original being believed lost. It is here republished for the first time from the original stone. For the **\(\text{TEPANO[N]}\)** previously read D. suggests **\(\text{TEPANO[Y]}\)** 'son of Stephanos.' The inscription then conforms with other dedications to Achilles Pontarches in not dedicating a named object. Ill.

JHS 59 (1939) 84-91 (Ridington) GRAINDOR, PAUL. Coroneia de Phthiotide et Philippe V de Macedoine. An unpublished didrachm bearing on the obverse a king's portrait and on the reverse a laureate head of Zeus and the legend KOPWNEIWN is interpreted as bearing the portrait of Philip V of Macedon and as belonging to Coroneia of Phthiotis in about 191 B.C.

RBPh 18 (1939) 85-91 (Snyder) Gundel, Hans. Fragmentum grammaticum (P. Iand. 83a). A small fragment from a papyrus roll of the second century A.D., containing part of a grammatical treatise. The part preserved deals with possessive pronouns and prepositions.

Aegyptus 19 (1939) 210-4 (Husselman)

HUSSELMAN, ELINOR M. A Greek Manual of Hieroscopy. A Revision of P. Amh. 14. Only one side of this fragmentary leaf from a papyrus codex, now in the Morgan Library, was published by the original editors of the Amherst papyri. The unpublished recto and a revision of the verso are here given with notes and translation.

Aegyptus 19 (1939) 3-10 (Husselman)
Jeffrey, L. H. A peculiar form of Omega in two
sixth-century inscriptions. The unusual letter-form
(two circles, one over the other) for ω found in an
inscription from Asprókampo is the same as that
(circles with central dots) in an inscription from Phlius
which Scranton, Hesperia 5 (1936) 235ff., identified as
η, and perhaps was the invention of one stone-cutter
who carved the two inscriptions.

JHS 59 (1939) 139 (Ridington)

JHS 59 (1939) 139 (Ridington)
ROBERT, LOUIS. Hellenica. Epigraphical studies, including: inscriptions from Pagae relating to an arbitra-

tion, ephebic inscription, two inscriptions from Beroea, metrical inscriptions from Chalcidice, inscriptions from Philippi (nearly all of which are shown to be forged), list of Delphic $\theta_{\epsilon\omega\rho\rho}\delta\delta\kappa_{OL}$, inscriptions relating to physicians, etymology of caballus, some inscriptions which have travelled, dedication to Isis, other dedications, epitaphs, and honorary inscriptions. Ill. RPh 13 (1939) 97-127 (MacLaren)

SEYRIG, H. Antiquitiés syriennes: 25. Sur quelques monnaies provinciales de Syrie et de Cilicie. Certain tetradrachms dating from Tiberius to Nero, hitherto assigned to the mint of Laodicea-on-the-Sea, actually were issued at Tarsus. Notes on tetradrachms of the later imperial period, mints of Gabala, Seleucia Pieria, and Ascalon.

Syria 20 (1939) 35-42 (Downey)
ZAMBON, ANGELA. Ancora sulle ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΚΑΙ.
A brief discussion of a few papyri dealing with apprenticeship, published since the author's original article in Aegyptus 15 (1935) 3-66.
Aegyptus 19 (1939) 100-2 (Husselman)

ZILLIACUS, HENRIK. Neue Ptolemäertexte zum Korntrensport und Saatdarlehen. Publishes three new Berlin texts, probably from Herakleopolis. They are all from the archives of the basilikos grammateus, Archebes, and are closely related to BGU 8.1741-3. The first is a letter of transmittal accompanying an order for the transport of grain to Alexandria, and the other two are letters authorizing the loan of seed-corn, one to a lessee of royal land, the other to the holder of a catoecic allotment.

Aegyptus 19 (1939) 59-76 (Husselman)

PHILOSOPHY. RELIGION. SCIENCE

DILLER, HANS. Der griechische Naturbegriff. The concept of $\phi \acute{\nu} \sigma \iota s$ reflects both the permanent and the changing aspects of Greek thought from the Presocratics to Neoplatonism. The most important stages: the medical science of the fifth century with its principles of organic constitution and reaction; the notion transferred by the Sophists into the political and social field as explanation of and justification for the lust after power and other modes of political behavior. In Plato and Aristotle the conception of nature changed from the causal to the teleological. For the Stoics the cosmos was a living continuity and unity of powers. In Neoplatonism nature and mind were opposite spheres, and nature was inferior.

NJA 2 (1939) 241-57 (Wassermann) KRANZ, WALTHER. Kosmos als philosophischer Be-griff frühgriechischer Zeit. Kosmos, originally 'unified arrangement,' is used in all its regular meanings in early Greek writings (attribute of generalship, 'fashioning' as of the Horse, Od. 8.492, then of epos itself) except the 'cosmic' meaning, which first appears in Anaximander. Early Pythagorean teaching was responsible for the first clear conception of the relationship between man and cosmos as a unity. Developed into a purely cosmological conception of the harmony of the soul within the universe. The limited human sense (Menschenwelt) appears first in Democritus, leading toward the 'cosmopolitan' sense in Diogenes Laertius. In Attic thought up to 400 B.c. the word as meaning 'world-unity' was only a learned expression, but it was just beginning to include the whole spiritual essence of man as a wellorganized cosmos. All the various influences on the growth of the word (Oriental speculation, Eleatic doc-trine, cosmological knowledge, medical learning) are echoed in the Platonic usage. Ph 93 (1939) 430-48 (Hough)

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HISTORY. SOCIAL STUDIES

Arnold, Christianus Johannes Cornelis. Oorzaak en schuld van den tweeden Punischen oorlog. 82 pages. Amsterdam 1939 (Dissertation, Nijmegen) 1.75 fl.

Aymard, André. Les assemblées de la confédération achaienne. xvi, 450 pages. Féret, Bordeaux 1938 90 fr.

Les premiers rapports de Rome et de la confédération achaienne (198-189 av. J.-C.). xvi, 438 pages, 3 maps. Féret, Bordeaux 1938 (Bibl. des Univ. du Midi,

BIANCHINI, ARTURO. Storia e poleografia della Regione Pontina nell'antichità (Etruschi, Volsci e Romani nel Lazio Medidionale). 225 pages. Signorelli, Rome 1939 20 L.

BÖRNER, ERICH. Der staatliche Korntransport im griechisch-römischen Aegypten. 46 pages. Kleinert, Quakenbrück 1939 (Dissertation)

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